

CLASS. BY: 330 970 70 0 0  
EXT. REVIEW: 000 00  
DATE: 5/3/81 BY: 000000-001540

October 13, 1953

Dear Mr. Dulles:

You asked me to let you have a written report of my observations during my recent world tour. These observations gleaned from talks with a wide assortment of people ranging from Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, middle-class intellectuals, business men and government officials down to the lowliest of peasants, convince me that our stock in all parts of the world is rapidly declining.

The decline in our prestige in the market of world opinion is not due to the skill or persistence of Soviet propaganda nor is it due to any major mistake of our own over-all diplomatic policies or strategy. It is due, in my opinion, to the complete lack of attention to details which directly affect our everyday relations with our prospective friends, thus negating the tremendous investment, financial and otherwise, which we are making in order to maintain the strong alliance of nations of the free world.

Viewing our position objectively, it would appear to the eyes of the world that while we preach Democracy and world brotherhood, we seem to be practicing a latter-day colonialism.

We lay claim to a morality of a high order, but we export, especially to Asia, the most shoddy products of our civilization -

cheap moving pictures, "pinball" slot machines, garish cosmetics, "falsies" in a land of flat-chested women, comics, sensationally head-lined newspapers and blatant, vulgar advertising matter.

We proclaim that our dearest heritage is the freedom to think and speak and we promptly present to the world a grossly magnified portrait of the power possessed by Senator McCarthy. Foreign correspondents stationed in Washington know that news stories about McCarthy are given prominent space in the home press. As a result, most of the world's population is under the distinct impression that McCarthy is the mightiest force in America.

To say that this portrait is a horribly distorted caricature, disturbingly similar to the acid etchings of an Izvestia or Pravda, solves no problems. We cannot win the battle for the mind and goodwill of the world by stamping our feet and shouting, "That's not so! You are liars!"

First, we must face the fact that this is the picture the word "American" calls forth to millions of Europeans and Asiatics; we must next investigate the cause, and, thirdly, seek the solutions.

How does it happen that we, who have done so much to bring about the independence of such countries as the Philippines and Puerto Rico, are termed "Colonialists" now? There are several factors:

Many of our representatives abroad, particularly in the lower echelons - to borrow an Army expression - "never had it so good." The purchasing power of the dollar, coupled with the prestige of their new positions, has infected many with a case of "officialitis." For example,

Americans together with the British have taken over the Tamion Building which is on the main thoroughfare of Athens. Parking privileges are reserved for American and British personnel only. I was with an Athenian who was handed a traffic ticket for parking in that sacred area - his anger was directed primarily against Americans whose cars lined the street.

We are all familiar with the resentment of New Yorkers who experience the same feeling when handed summonses for parking in United Nations or other diplomatic spaces; however, we are in a different position - these nations are not spending billions in this Cold War to win friends and influence nations.

From my personal experiences in countries such as Germany, Japan, and Greece, I have found that the PX is a focal point of black marketeering. In Germany, whenever I entered a hotel taken over by the American Army, I was invariably approached by an employee of the hotel who would ask me to obtain merchandise for resale at a premium. In Athens, after I walked out of the PX as an ineligible American, a black marketeer approached me and stated, "I can get you anything you want right from the American store."

Even without these abuses, the inequities inherent in the two price system are acid poured into the wounds of poorer nations. If we cannot manage to exist abroad without our own private Macy's and Gimbel's, we might at least be discreet about it. In Athens, our PX is located on a corner store at the intersection of the two main shopping streets. When I was there, a merchandising genius had filled the windows with a tempting display of goods available for sale inside. What a feast this

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is for Athenian eyes! They can windowshop all day, if they wish, but the merchandise is for sale to "Authorized Americans Only." Is this kind of extra-territoriality any better than the treaty ports which the United States renounced in 1943?

Our government carefully controls the passports of all our citizens who want to go abroad - we refuse to permit anyone to leave the country who by his utterance or his conduct may say or do something detrimental to the welfare of the United States. We are very careful whom we send abroad as our ambassadors - the President's nominee must be confirmed by the Senate - yet we send abroad our celluloid ambassadors to penetrate every hamlet of the world not excluded by the Iron Curtain, without any intervening authority.

It is not a novel complaint that American movies give the world a false impression of our civilization; nor is it startling to learn that American films have a terrific impact around the world. What is not generally realized is that while film companies are restrained in their domestic distribution by Industry Codes, State and local censors, etc., there are no restrictions for export abroad - nobody, the President, the Senate, State Department, not even the industry-appointed Johnson Office can interfere with the export of films depicting American life in terms of violence, lawlessness, and hyperglandular sex. The export of essential material requires an Export License; surely no material could be classed as more essential for the prosecution of the Cold War than the proper presentation of American life through motion pictures. From the West End Cinema palaces of London to the lowliest

Bangkok fleabag, such films are thus permitted to portray America.

A disturbing situation has come to my attention - the irresponsible "fast buck boys" are engaged in promoting the production of gangster films for distribution abroad. These will depict the underworld in the flattering Robin Hood terms, portraying racketeers as well tailored, respected, kindly gentlemen to whom the American forces of law and order are compelled to appeal to wipe out crime waves and corruption. These cheap, sensational films are as dangerous to our national prestige as are the production of anti-American films being planned by international producers who have no American distribution and who propose to cash in on the anti-American feeling abroad.

Our American producers are men of responsibility who have proven their patriotism in two wars. I am convinced we can count on their cooperation if the situation is put to them as I outlined to you and C.D. Jackson, and if the responsibility is placed on their shoulders. You will then find that you have a most formidable weapon in the cold war.

I will undertake to get the unstinted support of executives such as Barney Balaban, President of Paramount, Jack Warner of Warner Bros., Spyros Skouras, President of Twentieth Century Fox, J. Robert Rubin, Vice-President and Counsel for Metro Goldwyn Mayer, Joseph Schenck, Chairman of the Board of United Artists and others to cooperate with you in putting the brakes on distribution of films detrimental to American interests in this cold war.

We have a new Voice of America in the self-proclaimed owners of brothels who have authored books purporting to be factual and whose main

theme is police corruption. Their foreign translations are now being arranged. As a result of the success of one of these books, another, privately published in Hollywood about ten years ago and sold under-the-counter, is being offered for translation abroad. I am told the bidding is spirited. The present best-seller biography will be published in England by one of its largest and most important houses. No doubt it will make much of the fact that the author of the book which now heads the best seller list in America, is accepted by the supposed better elements of our society - women's groups, standard literary programs, etc.

Still another American tome to do with prostitution (this one concerns our armed forces in Honolulu and the alleged hypocrisy of the American government) has been recently published in England. I quote from the publisher's description: "Rarely has the subject of harlotry been so ruthlessly and starkly probed as in this biting commentary on American manners and war-time morals. It is a book of sociological importance, but it is not recommended to the squeamish reader." When I was abroad, I was told that an independent producer was promoting capital for production of that story - another example of cashing in on anti-American feeling via foreign markets.

Think of the books and plays depicting sordid aspects of American life translated into native languages, and promoted by word-of-mouth advertising. Contrast the effect of these to that of the few lone copies of American classics reposing on the shelves of the U.S.I.S. libraries which are located only in the big cities abroad.

In my travels I found that an American dramatic success which had been transferred to the screen, was being interpreted widely as an attack on the inadequacies of our social security laws. This dramatic

property has had an anti-American effect not dissimilar to the impact that UNCLE TOM'S CABIN had against the cause of slavery. It is accepted as anti-American by audiences and is invariably the first and strongest of their arguments that our free competitive enterprise system is too complicated for the average man.

No, the Communists are under no compulsion to create anti-American propaganda. We make all they can possibly use. They need only utilize what we export in films, plays, books, magazines and sensational press.

To me as to most Americans, censorship is abhorrent. This feeling is valid at home where the free play of intellectual forces and political opinions allow every member to make up his mind, but abroad we are faced with the problem of over-emphasis of a single viewpoint - anti-Americanism.

Everywhere I went I found that people were under the impression we had turned violently reactionary since the last election. They do not seem to grasp the fact that the main tenor of American life remains unchanged; that on the contrary, the new Administration and Congress are enacting fresh laws to extend the social welfare benefits to millions of more Americans who heretofore have been exempt from those enjoyed by certain large groups. These stories do not make for sensational reading if dispatched abroad as news from Washington. The peoples of the world hear and read sensational accounts of McCarthy's witch hunts, attacks on university professors, etc. This is causing us grave harm in that it puts us in a false position in the estimation of the intellectuals all over the world who play an increasingly important role in post-war Asia and Europe.

I have talked to many of them in various parts of the world and it sums up to the same thing - that we are to blame because the concept of Communism is not the same throughout the world - we do not accept the fact that the peoples of all countries do not regard or fear communism as we do and that not everyone views it as original sin. I am told that millions who are regarded as Communists and vote accordingly would really be the first to rebel against the Kremlin should the Iron Curtain drop in front of them and shut them off from the free world.

The key fact in the Far East to-day is the hatred of the white man - the legacy of many years exploitation by colonial powers. The Russians have taken advantage far more adroitly than we in dealing with the basic issue; they have managed to sell themselves to most of Asia as fellow-Asiatics, Mongols who share the native apathy to the West. They have made much of the fact that Americans are allied with the hated occupying powers.

The plain unpleasant fact appears to be that regardless of the reason all Asiatics resent white troops who come to the Far East to kill Asiatics. Even Siam who could be traditionally counted upon as our staunch friend resents the killing of Asiatic people by foreign troops; the King of Cambodia has broadcast to the world his wish to remain neutral. Syngman Rhee in Korea enjoys his peak of popularity to-day because he dared to talk back to the white men in Washington.

In India, Nehru's supporters contended that he was doing a better job in fighting Communism in his country than we are here inasmuch as he understands the mentality of his people whose philosophy and religion



are ascetic, not materialistic.

I gathered however, that the position of the Nehru government - the central stabilizing force in India - is extremely precarious. The government, which is democratic and mildly liberal, is poised delicately between the reactionary elements of Nehru's own Congress Party on the right, and the Communists on the left.

The impression I received was that Nehru is the one-man-show of the new nation. If anything should happen to Nehru, the Congress Party might easily shift to a military dictatorship with a civilian at the top for window-dressing. Nehru seems aware of this and has therefore been trying desperately to groom a successor, going so far as to look among the members of the Socialist Party for a leader.

The Communist Party in India is definitely gaining strength, despite reports to the contrary. It is strong in the country, in the small towns, in the outlying districts.

The British trained the Indians throughout the country as clerks and civil servants. Since the new government came into existence it has put its emphasis on technicians and agricultural reform, as a result of which there is an increasing number of unemployed in the white-collar class. These peoples, having nothing to lose, are natural recruits for leaderships of small groups formed under the Communist banner.

Nehru's critics of the Right oppose his program of making India agriculturally self-sufficient before going into industrialization as they consider that to be a drawn out affair; they would rather have a political leader invite American capital to invest in large-scale industrial development of the country's rich mineral resources.

The main strategy of the Communists is to break up the country

along language lines. The Communists' goal as I understand it is to get more rights for each state and thus acquire access to state troops, etc. Once a Communist State comes into existence, they will use that as a lever to foment trouble politically through parliamentary or other legal means. They are making alliances in Parliament, particularly in the State Legislatures, rather than attempt to take over the Central Government, which they realize they cannot succeed in doing while Nehru is at the helm.

After listening to the pro and con discussions, it is my belief that any kind of dictatorship would be ultimately disastrous for the United States. We must therefore lend every possible aid to the Nehru government. Any assistance we send India should be accompanied by an intelligent program of psychological warfare administered with insight into the national pattern of the Indian people.

In the Far East, anti-white feeling is expressed in many ways. They resent our discriminatory laws; this sensitivity about past exploitation by Western Powers frequently blinds the Asiatic, makes him approach problems emotionally, obscures our virtues from his views. They charge us with trying to force the use of our advertised nostrums upon them - they appear amused by the Wars of the Colas which had apparently just been launched in Siam when I was there; they are unimpressed by our efforts to inaugurate health programs and ridicule our eating habits, our pace of living..."iced orange juice and hot coffee and greasy doughnuts - iced water and hot tea - all gulped down rapidly standing before a soda fountain - yes, you must be a nation of walking ulcers" a native doctor, whose sole knowledge of America comes from our movies, books and magazines, informed me.

The impression of an insubstantial America is reinforced by the deluge of glamour articles and similar lightweight merchandise which would seem to constitute the bulk of our exports to our friends. One must bear in mind that when the people of the Far East see the Main Streets of their capital cities suddenly bursting forth in neon lights, their wives and daughters in frizzly toni permanents and light pancake make-up, their young and old guzzling cokes, they consider these the evidence of our Point Four Program rather than the valuable contributions our technicians and resources provide their agriculture, industries, transportations, clinics, etc.

An opportunity was afforded to me to meet Asiatics who held different shades of political opinion when I was Counsel to the Chinese Delegation at the United Nations. Amongst those to whom I listened intently in San Francisco, London and Lake Success, were the Chinese Communists who had been duly appointed as Communist representatives on the Chinese Delegation. It was then that I heard for the first time of the possibility of the Monroe Doctrine being applied to the Asiatic Continent - the extremists talked about a United Nations of Asia, or, as they called it then, a "League of Nations of Asia." When I visited the Orient recently, I heard the same idea discussed and advocated in many quarters. The Asiatics took the position that they, with their resources of petroleum, rubber, tin, tea, sugar, and so forth, could get along without us, but, they argued, could the West get along without them? Such an alliance, they pointed out, would include Japan and the Philippines. The Leftists stated that the Soviet Union would be a member of the United Nations of Asia since so much of her territory lies

In Asia; the more moderate contended that if the U.S.S.R. came into the organization, her influence would be overbalanced by the Asiatics. If such an alliance were to come into existence, it is safe to assume that Soviet Russia would take advantage of the situation and put forth her claim as an Asiatic nation.

In England when the Mau Mau killings were the topic of the day, I met African leaders who had come to attend the Coronation. I was disturbed to hear reference to a Federation of African States which would ally itself with Asia to form an anti-west bloc.

If the two largest continents were to unite against us under Leftist influence, it would deliver into Communist hands sufficient manpower and resources to place us in the greatest jeopardy.

We are not getting before the world the portrait of a democratic constructive America. In our attempt to make friends and influence nations, no detail can be too small for our attention. We must see that our military and civilian personnel, wherever stationed, behave in a manner respectful of the civilization of their host country; we must not form Little Americas.

We must win over the many millions who vote Communist only because they are not convinced by our slogans about democracy and have a distorted picture of our society fostered by our exports as well as by Communist propaganda. We should recognize the appeal of Communism to the masses in Asia and Europe and put our best foot forward in an effort to convince them that our American way is better, without depending upon the use of brand names such as "The American Way of Life," "Capitalism," "Freedom of Enterprise," etc. to prove this. We must see to it that

word of the constantly improving position of the Negro and other minorities is sent out to Asia and Africa where we are looked upon as the heirs of a race-conscious colonialism.

We must perform dramatic deeds of humanitarianism and life-saving to counteract the concept of America as the nation which is prepared to drop an atom bomb on millions of people.

The time has come for us to arouse the world with constructive news from our country - for example, if the President should dramatically announce that he would ask Congress to set up an establishment on a scale similar to MANHATTAN PROJECT for the purpose of attacking the problem of cancer and polio, as was done to split the atom, it would inspire fresh confidence in America.

In this crucial world struggle, let us be represented by Tuskegee and Hampton Institute rather than by share croppers and Harlem; by our life saving research foundations as well as by our atomic program; by our democratic town meetings and elections rather than by our criminal-political machines; above all, let us strive to speak with deeds - and then make our deeds speak for themselves.

Hatred, however irrational, can never be entirely extirpated once it is bred into any single human generation. The anti-Americanism abroad has been allowed to flourish unchallenged for several years. A whole generation of children has imbibed it - along with the dried milk we supplied for their subsistence; in eight to ten years this generation will have grown to strong and vigorous manhood ready to take an active

part in their nation's affairs. In this ensuing period, we must eradicate this inbred religion of Anti-Americanism - or accept its inevitable consequences.

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Sincerely.

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